[Mr. Kayalam Paramesvaran Pillai]

There has been no complaint from the public during these twenty years as regards this matter and it now arises only from the Second Grade pleaders. Three years ago a conference of Second Grade pleaders was held and they passed a resolution that they should be allowed to practise in the District Courts; *i. e.*, they wanted scope for higher employment. Since then we hear of this proposal in the Council chamber and in the Assembly. Thus the cry comes not from the public at large but from those who are looking for higher employment in the department of administration of justice. The House has to bear in mind that really the public stand to lose and never to gain by accepting this resolution. If so the resolution will be found to be unacceptable.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum cum Neduvangad*): May I know from the member whether the High Court have given any reasons?

MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*): They have not given any reasons.

MR. D. C. JOSEPH (*Agastisvaram*): Sir, sufficient arguments were advanced for and against the resolution now before the House and a lot of things were said against the poor Second Grade pleaders. But at the same time their services also were recognised. Before I heard the learned speech of the Law Member, I anticipated that the Government would oppose the resolution. The Law Member himself confesses that Government are quite unable to go behind the decision of the High Court and that they are helpless in the matter. Further there is one thing that has affected. As the Government are not able to control the High Court for the last several years the work in the Judiciary is not satisfactory. I find there is a lot of opposition against the poor Second Grade pleaders and that there is nothing against the so called well equipped legal luminaries who are in the State service. As there is a lot of opposition against the resolution, I withdraw it.

The resolution was by leave withdrawn.

ECONOMIC SURVEY.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara cum Karikapalli*): I beg to move the following resolution:-

"This Council recommends to the Government that steps be taken for making an economic survey of the State".

Sir, my object in moving this resolution is to impress upon the Government and this Council the imperative necessity of undertaking an economic survey with a view to devise means for the economic regeneration of the country. Before explaining the term "Economic Survey", I will state (*louder, please*) what induced me to bring forward this resolution. The Great World War has taught almost all nations that without economic progress and economic independence there could not

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be any political independence. We now see that almost all the progressive nations of the world are running an economic race so that each may overtake the other. Even Travancore, which is more than six thousand miles away from the scene of battle and which was supposed to be pregnant with natural resources and which has contributed only a minor part in that struggle, received an economic shock to recover from which a number of years were taken. Still we know that during that time the prices of the imported articles, such as piece goods and even rice which is imported from Rangoon, went up and were doubled, while the prices of export such as cocoanut produce and other articles were halved. Fortunately for us those mighty powers came to an Armistice and established peace and we are in a better position. What I have to submit is, in view of that circumstance and in order to provide against any other mishaps in future owing to fights between two other nations, it is better to put our country as far as possible economically self-sufficient. The first step that is to be taken for that purpose is to conduct an economic survey. It is only after conducting an economic survey that we will be able to ascertain the extent of our national wealth, the income and production of this country, the expenditure and cost of living and agricultural indebtedness and provide money for the same. It is these motives that have actuated me to bring this resolution for the consideration of the House.

By the term "economic survey" I mean the ascertainment of the wealth, production and income of the country as a whole and the average income of the individual in particular. As against this, we must ascertain the expenditure of the individual in the country, the cost of living, wages, agricultural indebtedness and other things. From this try to find out (i) where is our position economically when compared to that of other countries, (ii) whether we are incurring every year debts and (iii) whether if we proceed at this rate, we will be able to achieve anything or we will be endangering the prospects of our future generations. This is a serious matter which must engage the attention of all thinking people of the State. By ascertaining this we will be able to understand the economic condition of the country, its expenditure and its cost of living. This leads us to the questions (1) whether all that each village produces is sufficient for its consumption; (ii) where more is wanted by any village whether it could find sufficient money by sending its produce outside; and (iii) if its produce is available for sale, where it could find a proper market. All these questions could be solved only if we conduct an economic survey of the State.

This question is not a new one. It has been engaging the attention of all the progressive nations of the world. We see that in Great Britain figures are available as regards the national income, wealth and indebtedness and its prosperity. In the United States of America also we see that the taxation is based on the income of the individual. So also in Canada, Australia, and in New Zealand, figures are available. Even in India which is considered to be far behind other nations in all these matters we find that this question has been engaging the serious

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[Mr. A. S. Damodaran Asan.]

attention of all politicians, statesmen and even Governments. As far back as 1880 the Famine Commission emphasised

"the necessity for calling into existence an organisation invested with duty of ascertaining more systematically and completely and to render more readily available statistics of important agricultural and economic facts in order that the Government and its officers may be in a position of adequate knowledge of the actual condition of the country, its population and its resources."

We also see that great statesmen and politicians like Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Dadabai Naoroji and other persons have emphasised the urgency of taking up this question.

The question of an economic survey for the whole of India was discussed in 1924 in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State and the Government fully agreed with the idea. The only point was whether the economic survey should precede the Taxation Enquiry. That was the only objection that was raised. Even Sir Basil Blackett the Finance Member of the Government of India, said:

"It will be a very difficult task lasting for number of years to carry on an economic survey for the whole of India, and so it will be better to leave the matter to the Provinces."

The only difficulty even as regards that was that it will be impossible to carry on an economic survey for the whole of India which is about 200 times as great as Travancore and that the question could be adequately met only by the Provincial Government. In the Legislative Assembly Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar said:

"But all the same in spite of the fact that the enquiry will have to be a prolonged on I think that it is an enquiry from which the Government could not shrink."

Sir Basil Blackett says.—

"Personally if I am to speak for myself I think that a really authoritative enquiry into the economic conditions of India is one of the great desiderata and I should hope that it should have great results."

While opposing the Resolution for conducting an economic survey on the only ground that the taxation enquiry should precede it because the Government had advanced to a certain extent in that matter, even Sir Basil Blackett, a great authority in Finance, had admitted the necessity for an economic survey.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): What has Purushotamadas Thakurdas said in regard to the necessity of conducting an economic survey?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): The member may ascertain Mr. Purushotamadas Thakurdas' views by a reference to the Assembly proceedings. I cannot supply him with all the information.

Even in the Madras Legislative Council this question was raised as regards the Godavari District and the Government have promised to conduct an economic survey in the last January Session of the Council. Economists like Sir, no I beg to correct, Dr. Gilbert Slater and J. C. Jack—

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RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*) : May I know when was Dr. Slater knighted ? He is an old friend of mine and I should like to congratulate him.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I request the member not to take advantage of a slip of the tongue. I corrected immediately and said Dr. Gilbert Slater. My friend could argue the whole thing when his time comes.

Economists like Gilbert Slater, J. C. Jack and other persons have conducted economic survey. Dr. Harold Mann has also conducted economic survey in certain villages.

This question is not new even as regards Travancore, and as far back as 1905, the Travancore Government considered the question of undertaking an economic survey but unfortunately owing to some difference of opinion the papers were recorded probably because the matter was entrusted to persons who could not conveniently take it up and who could not have had sufficient time. In the second Council, the question of undertaking an economic and industrial survey was brought up for discussion and my friend Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar opposed it on some minor ground. I think I have amended the resolution so as to suit him and to avoid a fight over details which might result in the rejection of the main principle.

The next question that has to be considered is whether this is a matter which can be deferred, whether we can keep quiet for some time more and hope to undertake an economic survey in the future. I say that this is a very important matter that could not be postponed. The economic condition of our country depends upon its agriculture, industries and commerce.

As far as agriculture is concerned we find that our country is not producing even sufficient food crop, that is paddy, from our fields and that we depend upon the import of paddy from Rangoon. If some people claim any credit for the lowering in the price of paddy this year I think I may tell them that it is not because Travancore has become more prosperous or because our agriculture has advanced, but because some European country has decided to cultivate paddy and become self-reliant.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*) : May I ask the member whether he is aware of the reduction in the price of tapioca ?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : I will tell the member. Paddy is a better food than tapioca and paddy could now be purchased at a lower price. Naturally the ordinary man goes in for paddy in preference to tapioca. The price of tapioca has therefore gone down. It is not because Travancore has produced a larger quantity of tapioca but because paddy is available at a lower price.

MR. V. CHELLAM PILLAI (*Tovala*) : May I know whether tapioca is exported in as large a quantity as was done in former years ?

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MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): It might be exported. I am not sure of the figures. If the member knows them he can enlighten the House.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*): May I know whether the member has any idea of the quantity of tapioca that is produced in Travancore?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I will refer the member to the report of the Agricultural Department.

In Travancore we find each individual gets only about 55 cents of land if an average is struck. The conclusion is, the pressure of population in this land is very high. The number of persons per square mile is somewhere about 536. There are only one or two provinces or States in the whole world which have got a larger population taking the population of such provinces or States as a whole. I don't refer to cities or towns which are very often thickly populated. But I take the States and the provinces as a whole. Our staple industry is agriculture and on a reference to the figures of production we find that we get only a smaller return than that from other provinces. A comparison of the figures of production in the United States of America, England, Germany and other places will show that the produce from a particular plot of land from each place differs; and that Travancore figures are very low. We also find that the pressure of population in Travancore is very high, the average acreage per individual is only 55 cents and that our lands yield only a comparatively poor return. Add to these the rate of increase of population in the State which is very high when compared with other provinces in India and I think our position as regards agriculture is stagnant if not deterioration. I do not know how we will be able to get out of this difficulty unless prompt steps are taken for improving the condition of agriculture in the State. As regards this question this House has expressed on many occasions its deep interest in the matter and I do not want to dwell on that side of the issue. Anyhow, even for effecting improvements in agriculture, to ascertain the particular varieties of crops that could be raised in each place and the manner of applying manure an economic survey of the State will be highly helpful.

Then again our State has been priding itself that in a few years it has been progressing well as regards its produce of rubber and other things, and that its exports have been increasing. With all our consolation in this matter we may find that when one Henry Ford thinks of purchasing 4 million acres of lands for rubber cultivation in Brazil or when another Edison is on the verge of discovering artificial rubber, all our rubber magnates shake in their shoes. That is the insecurity of our cultivation here. Therefore in order that we may make our country self-sufficient, in order that the agricultural products here might be utilised for industries, we must ascertain the produce which can be obtained here, how it can be converted into other articles of utility in the State and whether there is a surplus, and if so to which place it can be exported. Our rubber cultivation has been progressing

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rapidly but due to a change in the restriction policy or some other reason the value of rubber is immediately brought down and as a result we sell out rubber at a very low price while we purchase motor cars and other articles of foreign manufacture at a very high price both prices being fixed in America or in England. Even to encourage our industries and to convert our raw materials into finished goods we must ascertain the extent of production in our land and if this economic survey is carried into effect we will be able to solve the problem of unemployment to a certain extent. When agriculture and industries sufficiently prosper we will find that commerce also develops.

Some people seem to think that since our exports are more than the imports we are in a very flourishing condition. What I have to state is that even in calculating that we do not take into consideration many important questions. All that we consider is the amount of goods and the price of goods that are exported and the price of goods that are imported. A large amount of money goes out of the State as dividends to foreign companies. This is not taken into account. We need not pride ourselves in the fact that our country has sold tea worth 2 or 3 lakhs of rupees, because all the money that is obtained by selling tea goes out to foreign companies as dividends. We need not grudge that. Because they have invested the capital and they are entitled to it. What I state is, do not miscalculate our economic stability under a wrong impression. Even if the Government takes into consideration the amount of money spent for the studies of students abroad we will be able to know the amount of money that goes out to drain Travancore and which is not calculated by the Government as a drain upon Travancore.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Your time is up, Mr. Asan.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara cum Karthikappalli*): So in order to promote our agriculture, industry and commerce which are now in a very decadent condition it is highly necessary that proper measures should be taken for that purpose and the preliminary step for that is an economic survey of the State. As the time is up I shall defer the rest for my reply.

MR. V. S. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Tiruvalla*): മി. ദാമോദരൻ ആശാന്റെ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ഹൃദയപൂർവ്വം പിൻതാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. രാജ്യത്തിലെ മുതലെടുപ്പ് നാംക്കുന്നാംവണ്ണിച്ചുവരുന്ന എന്നു കണക്കു കാണാമെങ്കിലും ഒരു സാമാന്യനിരീക്ഷണംകൊണ്ടു നമ്മുടെ സാമ്പത്തികനില ക്ഷയിച്ചുവരുന്നു എന്നു കാണാവുന്നതാണ്. നമുക്ക് അത്യാവശ്യമായ ഭക്ഷണസാധനങ്ങൾപോലും അന്യരാജ്യത്തിൽനിന്നും ഇറക്കുമതി ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായിട്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നത്. ഇവിടെ കൃഷിചെയ്യണ്ടാക്കുന്ന സാധനങ്ങളെല്ലാം വിദേശങ്ങളിൽപോയി സംസ്കരിക്കപ്പെട്ടു തിരിച്ചുവന്ന് അതിനെ വലിയ വിലകൊടുത്തുവാങ്ങി നാം ഉപയോഗിച്ചുവരുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തെ കൃഷി പരിഷ്കൃതരീതിയിൽ നടത്തിവരുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും

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[Mr. V. S. Krishna Pillai.]

ആശാസ്യമായ നില കാർഷികാഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കു് ഇനിയും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ലെന്നു മുൻപറഞ്ഞ കാരണങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു വെളിവാകുന്നുണ്ടു്. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു് എവിടേയെല്ലാം എന്തെല്ലാം സാധനങ്ങൾ കൃഷിചെയ്യാൻ സൌകര്യമുണ്ടോ ആ സ്ഥലങ്ങളെ ഉപയോഗശൂന്യമായി ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാതെ കഴിയുന്നിടത്തോളം കൃഷിചെയ്യലും ആവക സാധനങ്ങളെ സംസ്കരിക്കുന്നതിനു ആവശ്യമുള്ള വ്യവസായശാലകൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്യണം. ഈവക സംഗതികളെപ്പറ്റി നല്ലപോലെ നിരീക്ഷണംചെയ്തു പ്രായോഗികമാക്കുന്നതിനു് ഒരു സർവെ നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ള ഈ പ്രമേയം എറ്റവും ഉത്തമമാണെന്നും അതിനെപ്രതികൂലിക്കാൻ ആരും ഉണ്ടാകയില്ലെന്നും ആണു് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഹൃദയപൂർവം പിൻതാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. T. C. KESAVA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): Sir, this is a big subject which I know there are members within this hall who will very ably handle for days together. So, I as a lay man will not be in a position even to understand the discussions which will be placed before us by students of economics. But I will be in a position to place before you one or two facts on the urgency of the situation. For the ordinary labourer the cost of living has risen high and if he steps into a motor car he must earn more than he would have done by walking and raw materials like fibre and other things which are exported to foreign countries must be utilised by the Industries Department for making such other things as will be useful to the people of this country. These require the careful consideration of the Government. As such I would strongly support the resolution moved by Mr. Asan and expect a speech from Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar and other official members.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Sir, I have listened to the speeches of my friend Mr. Damodaran Asan and his supporter Mr. V. S. Krishna Pillai with very mixed feelings. The question of an economic survey of the State seems to be one of those Hardy Biennials which are always coming up in this Council. In August 1925 there was a proposal before this Council for the appointment of a Committee of officials and non-officials for undertaking an economic and industrial survey of the entire State. On that occasion it fell to my unhappy lot to come forward and point out the impracticability of undertaking such a large, comprehensive and impossible investigation. On that occasion the House decided that it was not possible to accept the resolution and the resolution was lost.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Was it the same resolution?

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RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I think Mr. Damodaran Asan was apparently referring to that past incident when, with his engaging and persuasive frankness, he said he had revised and improved the original resolution so as to make it more acceptable to me and more easy for me and the House to swallow it on this occasion.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): May I know what the scope of the economic survey is?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): On that occasion the main objection that I raised, besides the comprehensive nature of the enquiry, was this. Such an enquiry to be of any value, to be worth the large sum of money which will have to be spent on the conduct of the enquiry, would have to be of a scientific character. Our great trouble in this world comes from the large number of persons who are able to give us advice on expert matters, particularly where they do not concern themselves. There are people who will always give us medical advice *gratis*, excepting doctors. In regard to legal advice you can get plenty without going to lawyers. But the amount of free medical and legal advice that a person can get is nothing compared to the amount of advice on economic matters which he can get without solicitation. If you undertake an economic enquiry of this character, without paying for it, well and good. But an economic enquiry of the right sort cannot be undertaken without the expenditure of a very large sum of money and we would not be justified, and it will be positively harmful if it is undertaken in a slovenly fashion and done in a slovenly fashion. We want an economic survey of a scientific character and such a survey would be very expensive. I also pointed out that a survey of that character cannot be done by a large body. Over and over again the question had been raised as to whether we cannot have some kind of a compromise between a thorough-going scientific survey and something which will not be so thorough-going and scientific that might suit our practical purposes. The danger in doing a half-hearted economic survey of the State is that its conclusions will be promptly challenged. I listened with great admiration to Mr. Damodaran Asan's speech today, because it is evident that, with his usual industry, he has covered a vast literature and apparently done a kind of amateur economic survey of the State himself. But, surely if Mr. Damodaran Asan, on the basis of this survey which he has conducted were to ask this House to vote for his proposition in the way of raising taxation, lowering taxation, putting export duties on things and giving bounties and so forth, I am afraid even his most warm-hearted friends would hesitate before they accept his advice. They would want something more precise, and more elaborate, some survey conducted by people accustomed to the rigid discipline of the class room and the laboratory; they would want to have something of that nature before they would commit themselves to such a large expense of the public money of which they are only in the position of trustees.

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MR. V. S. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Tiruvalla*): ഈ പ്രമേയം വളരെ പ്രാധാന്യമുള്ളതാണെന്നും ആവശ്യമുള്ളതാണെന്നും മെമ്പർ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I am coming to it presently. I said at the commencement, Sir, that it is a matter of considerable regret to me that propositions of such excellent character are being put forward in such a fashion as to be indigestible, and nothing gives me more pain than that I should belie Mr. V. S. Krishna Pillai's confident anticipation that there would be no person in this Hall who would go against a resolution of this character. I say with considerable regret that I am obliged to disappoint Mr. Krishna Pillai and that I am going to oppose the resolution in its present form. All the members of this House, officials or non-officials, are burdened with a heavy sense of responsibility and if I speak to the House today it is to convey to the House some of my own diffidence.

MR. V. S. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Tiruvalla*): കൂടുതൽ ധനവ്യയം വേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നുള്ളതു കൊണ്ടാണോ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ പ്രതിക്ഷേപിക്കുന്നതു?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I would beg Mr. Krishna Pillai to wait a little before I finish the thing. If the House would immediately vote the supplies and have the patience to wait till the economic survey is finished on the lines on which Mr. Damodaran Asan and Mr. V. S. Krishna Pillai want to do it, and if we still live in this land and the whole amount is expended then, I have absolutely no objection. To put it very shortly, a survey of the character which Mr. Asan has outlined and which has been supported by Mr. V. S. Krishna Pillai can, if undertaken, be completed in a quarter of a century and very possibly about fifty lakhs of rupees might be expended on it and the results of such a survey, when completed by the time the final report is published can have no interest except as a historical document. That is the position. I tried to convey this to Mr. Asan in a private conference which I had with him today. It is very tragic that good results should be lost by pressing matters to extremes. In this particular case, Mr. Asan has told us that it is mainly to satisfy my unreasonable self that he has revised and amended the original proposition and brought it in a form in which I could immediately accept it. I suggested to Mr. Asan a very mild amendment. All that I suggested was the substitution of one preposition for another. When all that is asked for is the substitution of two letters for another two letters, I ask you whether it is reasonable o Mr. Asan to have refused a request of this kind coming from an old friendof his. All that I suggested to Mr. Asan was that an economic survey should be undertaken *in* the State. If he is

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agreeable to that, then he is coming within the realm of practical politics. If he wants an immediate economic survey of the whole State, then his scheme is Utopian. It is not possible to undertake that. Mr. Asan has made liberal quotations from speeches in the Legislative Assembly which I have not been able to follow. From what I know of the opinions of the gentlemen whose words he has quoted, I am sceptical as to whether what they said would bear the colour which Mr. Asan gives to their utterances. I think Mr. Asan's idea seems to be that the reluctance of the Government of India to undertake a comprehensive economic survey of India was entirely due to the circumstance that they wished the enquiry to be undertaken by the provinces.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Will the learned member be kind enough to make the imperfect idea put forward by Mr. Asan perfect.?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I suppose that Mr Asan wants us to believe that the Government of India's reluctance was merely due to the circumstance that they would leave it to the Provincial Governments.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): With very great hesitation, may I ask the member whether he has gone through those debates and is it after fully considering the relevancy of those quotations that he is making these remarks?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): No, not at all. I said some time ago that I had not the advantage of having studied these debates. But, I know the opinions of some of the gentlemen whose words have been quoted by Mr. Asan. The quotations are not consistent with the opinions of these personages. I said that I was very sceptical as to whether what they said would bear the colour which Mr. Asan gives to such utterances.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Will the member kindly go through the proceedings of the debates before he makes the remarks?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I will, later on. It is impossible to do so now. I promise to make a study of those speeches and if I find that I have been wrong, in justice, I shall come up and make amends to Mr. Asan.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): May I know whether the member is entitled to make a criticism upon another member's speech or whether he is expected to confine his speech to the resolution before the House?

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: He is traversing the grounds on which the resolution was moved.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Sir, I need not labour this point any further. I merely want to point out to the House what it is being asked to commit itself to,

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by the innocent looking resolution which Mr. Asan has brought forward. He has himself given a few heads of the economic survey to be undertaken. They are pretty numerous. Each of those things, to be properly done, would require a large staff with an expert head, and probably some years to do the work. There are many other topics which are not less relevant to the economic survey, which Mr. Asan has not thought of and which the experts, who are asked to undertake the survey, will immediately insist upon doing. If you are going to undertake the survey, by all means do it well and comprehensively. We all know that when P. W. D. officers are asked to go and measure a road work, they do not measure all the heaps of road metal on the road but they do something like a check measurement of some heaps. In the same way, it is quite possible, for the sake of coming within practical politics, to undertake test economic enquiries in particular places or problems, and to undertake a local economic survey in specially selected localities after the preliminary survey of the whole area by competent observers. If such a thing is done, then there will be the possibility that you will have some samples of investigations which may be utilised by the practical administrator and by the politicians. Mr. Asan referred to Dr. Gilbert Slater's South Indian Villages enquiries. Mr. Asan apparently forgot that it was a work of a selective character which was undertaken by Dr. Slater. Dr. Slater did not undertake the economic survey of the entire Madras Presidency. I am not aware of an economic survey of an entire State or a large province which has yet been undertaken.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara cum Kartikapalli*): I never said so.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): No. But his quotation must have made Mr. Asan realise that the authority he was relying on is not the authority which would have supported his particular point of view, if what he wants is a complete and comprehensive survey of the State. An economic enquiry of the State is not a survey of the physical resources of the State alone, but it is equally a survey of the human factor in the State. You cannot have an economic survey of a State regarded in isolation but you will have to conduct it in its relation to the external world. Mr. Asan apparently realised this, as is evident from various happy illustrations he gave. An isolated survey will not therefore be anything but a disappointment to him. Unless such things, as the reporcussions of the World War and its after-effects on the products and the distribution of wealth in this country are taken into consideration, the survey will not be fruitful or complete. All these questions are questions which will compel an economic surveyor to travel very far and very wide indeed. He could not confine himself to the mere area of Travancore alone. All these things, as I said, will mean a considerable expenditure of time and money and the work cannot be done amateurishly. It can only be

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done by whole time professional people, by experts. Experts are expensive. Mr. Asan has stated that if a survey is valuable this Council would not grudge the money. This may be so, we want a scientific survey of a wide character. We want to know how the burden of taxation is affecting our cost of living. Incidence of taxation is very difficult to explore. If a survey is started on such lines, Mr. Krishna Pillai wants to know whether I am in favour of it. What a question to ask of a man who has been all along earning his livelihood by teaching economics? A few of my colleagues, several of my old pupils, would get employments, suitable to their talents and probably some ശമ്പളം if a comprehensive undertaking of this character is undertaken by the State. And if a comprehensive undertaking is undertaken, then it will be a red letter day in the history of the Economics section of the Arts College with which I have been so long connected. Nothing would be more welcome to the old pupils, who are waiting outside than that we should ask the Council to give a blank cheque and start this prolonged and comprehensive enquiry. But, the trouble is that a hard-headed body of business men as an expert will find in an Assembly of this character, are not so easily persuaded or hoodwinked into giving a blank cheque for an unlimited and unending enquiry which will travel very far and go on for very long. The results of scientific enquiries are indeed of very great value. But very few people now in active employment will be able to see the end of the proposed survey. That is the position. My amendment on the other hand is this. Substitute the word "in" for "of". What we want is a scientific survey. We can have it. Some time ago, a suggestion was made by a responsible body in this State itself, a semi-official body, that a survey of this character should be undertaken as a vacation-exercise by professors, assisted by students of the College of Arts. It was referred to me. I jumped at it and here is a long letter which I wrote. I had to characterise the recommendation, as however, clearly failing to perceive the nature of of an economic enquiry, the object of survey and the manner in which it may be conducted. And I said that such a thing as was recommended would be amateurish. Government took the same view that it will be a casual amateurish and expensive survey if done so and that it should not be undertaken. On that occasion, my submission to Government was three fold. Firstly a survey of the character would be very valuable only if it was very carefully planned, secondly that it should be undertaken by a whole-time economist, and thirdly that it will be disastrous to allow a survey of the character to be undertaken by any economist without the co-operation of a large number of related departmental activities in the State. I suggested that a matter of this kind should be given to a specialist staff, to a specialist body. I maintained that it could not be regarded as a vacation exercise, to be achieved by paying a few chuckrams of honorarium to the gentlemen who undertook the survey, and by paying travelling and halting allowances to a professor and to a few young men to fool about the country and get a number of erroneous conclusions, on the basis of which one might legislate to the perpetual harm of posterity. That was my objection and that objection

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still holds. If an economic enquiry is undertaken at all, I would welcome one that is serious and real. The other day, Mysore started a taxation enquiry. Such an enquiry I would welcome. We want enquiries conducted by experts. We want local investigations of a searching character. Local investigations of a searching character take a long time to do and involve great expense. One of the best economic investigations of this selective kind was conducted by a gentleman who was Principal of a College of Agriculture and subsequently rose to be Director of Agriculture in the Bombay Presidency. His enquiry took about 2½ years and was conducted by him with the help of a large body of Agricultural and Economics graduates. The results have been embodied in two volumes. These volumes are cited with great appreciation by students of Economics. They have also received a certain amount of administrative appreciation. We want studies of this kind. They must be done continuously. This kind of work must go on for a number of years. We must have a small staff and it must go on working for a very long time. Mr. Asan wants statistical information of the most up-to-date kind, to be created at once. I felt that he was mixing up a statistical bureau with the economic enquiry agency that he wants. What I wish to submit to this House now is, that, if the proposal of Mr. Asan is carried, we should lose no time in making a start somewhere, we should get hold of a tame economist. Keep him on the premises, and let him loose on the country with proper safeguards; and ask him to make an intensive study of the economic aspect of some rural or urban area, and see that he brings out a valuable report, in order that the gentlemen on the other side will have an opportunity of making use of his scientific conclusions. I would have welcomed an invitation of this kind. If it rested with me, I would have tried to support the requests of Mr. Asan, Mr. Krishna Pillai and others, and suggested that the Government might sanction with adequate precautions an enquiry of this kind and if the results were satisfactory, go on expanding the enquiry, till it became more comprehensive.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Could you suggest a particular form of the resolution?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): At present, all I can do without tampering with the resolution, without altogether destroying it, is to make the very small suggestion which apparently my friend Mr. Krishna Pillai is agreeable to, and which Mr. Asan would not agree to. It is that in the resolution 'in the State' be substituted for 'of the State'. If the amendment is accepted, the resolution would not make the survey comprehensive and wholesale in character.

Let me repeat that under the enquiry as outlined in the unamended resolution, you will have to bring not only every man, woman and child throughout the land. It is not possible to have a surveyor who would possess all the attainments, experience and patience necessary for

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undertaking a survey of this character. My amendment will bring the proposal within the field of practical politics and give us a better chance of accepting the resolution and proceeding to do something tangible than if we are to give the Government an Atlantean mandate and ask them to undertake a survey of this sweeping character. If you make a survey of this character, obligatory upon the Government as a proof of loyalty to public institutions and political enfranchisement, it is asking to do the impossible. Having been a student of economics all my life, my colleagues, no less than I, will suggest an amendment of this character. If Mr. Asan would accept it we can do what is possible. Otherwise what can we do? That is the position. Now, therefore, if the House will agree to persuade Mr. Asan or to persuade themselves that all that they want in this connection is that Government should give a kind of undertaking that if this resolution is amended in the form I have suggested or is taken back by Mr. Asan, the question of beginning an economic investigation of a practicable and valuable character will be very carefully and sympathetically viewed by Government. More than that it is not possible for me to say. A moral assurance that an investigation which will be practicable and useful will be undertaken within the limits imposed by possibility is all that I am now in a position to give the House. I do not think any Government can do more than this. May I also say, in this connection, that the decennial census is approching; and that when the decennial census operations begin, some kind of economic investigation is sure to be attempted? The only difficulty in that connection is that the kind of machinery we provide for a census is more fitted for counting heads than for investigating hard and elusive facts. We shall find that the idea of trying to peep beneath the surface and read the economic factors is beyond the scope of the army of persons employed by the census. That is the danger of giving the economic survey work to the census staff. What we might get from the census will be superficial facts, *e. g.*, the number of persons engaged in particular industries, the general position of industries, and so on. We can collect such information; we cannot investigate the underlying causes of the facts or the phenomena.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I tell the Director that our Economic Development Board have recently advocated an economic survey?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): It is all here (*pointing to the file placed before him*). It is one of the duties of an official member to read all the files when he comes and undertakes the responsibility to speak to the House.

That is the position. If the House will be satisfied with an assurance of the kind that I have submitted it will be quite easy to go on. Otherwise, I must say that I cannot recommend either to the House or to the Government the acceptance of a resolution of this very vague, very comprehensive and very impracticable character as the one which Mr. Asan has put. That is all that I have to say. If anybody wants to ask questions, I will answer.

We have very many other practical questions before us and if the ouse will only do this they will make it easy to pass on to them,

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MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I wish to make a personal explanation.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Are you prepared to accept the suggested amendment.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): That will come within the personal explanation.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: That is alright.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): When Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar suggested this amendment I had to say, that, in spite of the great respect I have for him that the wording of this resolution could not be altered as it has been framed after carefu consideration. Anyhow, I think the question of accepting the amendment suggested by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar could be considered after fully hearing the House, and seeing whether my view or his view prevails in the matter. I could not therefore say at present whether I could accept the amendment of Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I see the position very clearly. I thought I need not go into the merits of the question. There is no difficulty about it. I thought Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai put a question to me as to the scope of an economic enquiry of this character. Apparently it will be helpful to the discussion of this question if I deal with it fully. I thought I could save the House. There are a large number of resolutions still waiting.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I can allow you ten minutes.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I am willing to be extinguished at any moment. As an American would say it this is not "*my* funeral!" I will merely say in regard to a small enquiry suggested by the Economic Development Board that it was only to take the form of an economic survey of seven villages for which investigation the utilisation of the staff and students of the Maha Raja's College during their vacation was required. I pointed out the difficulties of such a survey. This was what I said:

> "It is observed that the Economic Development Board wishes arrangements to be made urgently for an economic survey of seven villages situated in different parts of the State. The Board considers these villages to be typical. To begin with, the question whether they are typical is one for the expert who undertakes the survey to pronounce upon, after he has had the opportunity to make a tour throughout the State and form a rough impression of the different economic regions into which it might be divided. A serious defect in commencing a survey of this character is to start with certain fixed notions."

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Sir, may I remind the House that we are not considering the recommendations of the Economic Development Board about taking the survey of seven villages. If the learned member is answering my question, I want an answer directly to the scope of the resolution as worded by Mr. Asan. That discussion he is bringing in is irrelevant. We do not want a survey of the seven villages.

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DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Somebody put the question whether the Director is aware of the recommendations of the Development Board. He is answering that.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Diretor of Public Instruction*): My point is this. If a small thing of the kind suggested by the Development Board is itself attended with great difficulties, and is not so easy even for experts like those on the Board to undertake, I merely would leave it to the imagination of the House to say what a more comprehensive enquiry would be like. Whether you are going to survey the whole State or not you will have to start with small units. There is not the possibility of a gentleman starting in a motor-car at Aramboly and going at the rate of 60 miles a day surveying the country. In an economic enquiry you will have to start with the smallest unit.

MR K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Is it a motor-driven economic survey of seven villages that is suggested in the resolution ?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public truction*): I am glad that Mr. Nilakanta Pillai is beginning to realise that we can go to seven villages. You begin with a selected area—seven villages. You want a preliminary investigation which will show whether a survey of these seven villages may be begun. Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai may be a legislative expert but as an economic expert I would not accept him. I proceed.

> "To label, without previous enquiry of a scientific character, certain localities as economically typical will be not only begging the question, but it will lead to unscientific results. We have now printed accounts of two surveys of the type apparently desired by the Economic Development Board. One of these contains the results of investigations carried out in some South Indian Villages selected by Dr. Gilbert Slater for study. The rural conditions were studied by Dr. Slater and his research students in economics. The work took some years, and was the sole work of his research students. Dr. Slater was also free to give almost his entire time to the supervision of this work. Nevertheless, both the data and conclusions of Dr. Slater and his research assistants have been repeatedly and successfully assailed on the grounds that the selection of the villages had been made without sufficient previous investigations, and that the work done was not sufficiently precise to be useful for drawing valid conclusions."

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): In that case was the first village investigated by him chosen by him ?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): He chose it because of its accessibility. He did it of his own accord and not with Government sanction, and for his own purpose.

For the collection of the necessary data, assistants will be required and such assistants should be those competent to give skilled help. The students of a college who are learning economics are hardly the persons whose help will be of much scientific value. It is one thing to give students who are learning economics from text books and class lectures, an opportunity to get first-hand knowledge of economic conditions by being allowed to participate in such an economic survey, and it is

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quite another thing to regard such students as capable of giving skilled help in a scientific enquiry for which trained observation is necessary. A survey conducted on such lines will not be worth the trouble and its results will be justly open to severe and damaging criticism.

These are some of the things which a village survey should undertake. But then, we cannot be satisfied with only village surveys. No. We want urban surveys also. Mr. Findlay Shirras, at the instance of the Bombay Government, held an urban survey of one small class or group in the Bombay Presidency, costing many thousands of rupees and the report has only been recorded. If the Government should conduct a survey of the character now proposed, the survey must be both definitive and conclusive. There is no use in getting up an amateurish investigation. What I have to suggest is that even surveys which were not of an amateurish character which have been conducted elsewhere, and which have resulted in reports, have not been accepted. Even for undertaking such a survey a large amount of money will have to be expended and experienced men will have to be employed. I will leave it to the House to imagine what an economic survey of the whole State with a population of nearly 4½ millions means. Our State is a maritime State, which is going through a rapid economic transition. I cannot answer for lay men, if the question is put to them as to whether they will undertake this responsibility. But if any economist who still keeps his sanity and wishes to keep his reputation is compelled to undertake a work of this character, I can only fancy that he will run away or hang himself.

The Council adjourned at 5·3 P.M.

T. P. RAMASUBBA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

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